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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this Conference included an examination of new approaches to citizenship education and an evaluation of the teaching materials produced by the Charles P. Schwartz Citizenship Project (CPSCP), and an examination of the attitudinal studies on citizenship values conducted under the auspices of CPSCP. Major sections of the Report include: 1) an address by the Hon. Paul Simon, Lt. Governor of Illinois, in which he lists and discusses 13 issues and related activities for citizenship education; 2) "Attitudinal Research Studies of Teachers and Students," a paper by Paul F. Kleine, in which are discussed problems of attitudinal research and proposals for two studies; 3) "Politics --the Heart of Citizenship Education," by Mark M. Krug, a paper which criticizes citizenship education as not satisfactorily producing citizens willing and able to work within the American political system; 4) "Attitudes and Values in Citizenship Education," by Irving Morrissett, a paper placing analysis and clarification of values in separate citizenship education courses and in the broad context of the social sciences and humanities; 5) a final section containing an explanation of the citizenship education unit, Slogans and Standard Bearers, The National Party Conventions, by Jean Bernstein, and evaluations of it by several teachers. (DJB)

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# Invitational Conference on Citizenship Education

REPORT

## The Charles P. Schwartz Citizenship Project

SO 000 137

sponsored by

The University of Chicago, Graduate School of Education
in cooperation with
The Johnson Foundation

October, 1969

WINGSPREAD CENTER, RACINE, WISCONSIN

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# INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The Charles P. Schwartz

Citizenship Project

sponsored by

The University of Chicago, Graduate School of Education

in cooperation with

The Johnson Foundation

October 17-19, 1969

WINGSPREAD CENTER, RACINE, WISCONSIN

SO 000 137

# CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CONFERENCE REPORT


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PROGRAM

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1969

5:00 Arrival

6:00 Cocktails

6:30 Dinner

Opening: Dr. Paul F. Kleine
Assistant Professor of
Educational Psychology
University of Chicago

Welcome: Leslie Paffrath
President
The Johnson Foundation

Chairman: Dr. Mark M. Krug
Professor of Education
in History
University of Chicago

8:00 Keynote Address:

The Hon. Paul Simon
Lieutenant Governor
State of Illinois

9:30 Social Hour

SATURDAY, October 18, 1969

8:00 Breakfast
Racine Motor Inn

9:00 Bus leaves for Wingspread Center

9:30--12:00 SESSION I

"Attitudinal Research Studies
of Teachers and Students"

Opening Statement:

Professor Paul F. Kleine

Discussion Chairman:

Miss Phyllis Wockner
Von Stueben High School
Chicago, Illinois

12:30 Luncheon

Guests of Honor:

Mr. & Mrs. Charles P. Schwartz

Chairman: Roald F. Campbell, Dean
Graduate School of Education
The University of Chicago

"Politics and Citizenship Education"

Dr. Mark M. Krug

2:00-4:00 Session II

Opening Statement:
Mrs. Jean Bernstein
Park Forest Public Schools
Author of
"Slogans and Standard Bearers,
The National Party Conventions"

DISCUSSION
Chairman: Mrs. Wendy Klein
New Trier High School
Winnetka, Illinois

Panelists: Robert Grove
Beverly Ball
Howard Levin

4:00-6:30 Free Time

6:30 Cocktails

7:00 Dinner

Address:

"Values and Attitudes in Citizenship Education"
Dr. Irving Morrissett
University of Colorado
Executive Director
Social Science Education Consortium

Chairman: Dr. Herbert Zimmerman
Roosevelt High School
Chicago, Illinois

8:30-10:30 Social Hour

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1969

9:00-10:00 Breakfast
Racine Motor Inn

10:15-12:15 Final Session

Group Reports and Recommendations

Chairman: Mr. Robert Stephen, Jr.
Naperville Central High School
Naperville, Illinois

12:30 Luncheon

Adjournment following luncheon

# INTRODUCTION

The Invitational Conference on Citizenship Education was held at the Wingspread Center in Racine, Wisconsin, October 17-19, 1969. The Conference was co-sponsored by the Graduate School of Education and the Johnson Foundation. The participants of the Conference included distinguished social studies, history and civics teachers in Chicago, Illinois and Wisconsin. In addition, a number of social studies educators, principals and superintendents were invited.

The objectives of the Conference included an examination of new approaches to citizenship education and evaluation of the teaching materials produced by the Project, and an examination of the attitudinal studies on citizenship values conducted under the auspices of the Project. It is with great pleasure that we are hereby submitting a report of this conference. We wish to express our appreciation to Mr. Leslie Paffrath, President of the Johnson Foundation and the officers of the Foundation for the hospitality they have extended to us, and to the Honorable Lt. Governor, Paul Simon, and Professor Irving Morrissett of the University of Colorado, who were the featured speakers. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Maureen Sheehy, who served as the Executive Secretary of the Conference with great ability and efficiency. Our appreciation is also due to my secretary, Mrs. Violet Kraft, for the typing of the manuscript.

Mark M. Krug
Director, Schwartz Citizenship Project

Chicago - April 1, 1970

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
THE HONORABLE PAUL SIMON
LT. GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

(Mr. Simon's remarks are summarized)

Mr. Simon began by remarking about the image of a politician as a fat, cigar smoking, dirty-dealing guy. He suggested that occasional corruption scandals involving city or state political leaders tend to reinforce the bad image of the politicians. This is in a sense unfair because the overwhelming majority of political leaders or politicians serve the public ably and honestly.

Mr. Simon went on to say that it may be helpful if textbooks do mention occasional scandals involving politicians, because then the textbooks will be realistic.

He observed that there are many things that the teacher can do to impart citizenship values. By having students collect stories of current events, the teacher can help them to become aware of the political process. Young people are learning by doing that.

He mentioned his seventh grade teacher as having an impact on his life. She may have been responsible for his being in politics today. It was her inquiring attitude toward political events that started his interest in political life. In her class the process of government was studied, both in its exciting and dull aspects. Mr. Simon confessed to signing up for only one political science course in college. Finding it dull, he quickly dropped the course. On the other hand, he knows a college teacher who, before he

gives credit for his political science course, makes his students become involved in politics. He spoke of influencing students to become volunteers in political campaigns. It was his guess that a good percentage of these same students who became involved in the political process by helping the candidate of their choice, have stayed involved in politics later in life. He mentioned that during his own campaigns he had spoken to assemblies on small college campuses and at the end of his speech he asked for volunteers to help him. The response of the students was always most encouraging. He did not feel it was difficult at all to stir up interest in public affairs.

Citizenship education ought to include: 1) A critical reading of newspapers representing different political opinions, 2) Selected political activities on a local or national level. This would include participation in political campaigns, 3) An interest in and participation in particular current public issues like air and water pollution, crime, etc.

Specific activities mentioned:

1) He suggested taking students to Operation Breadbasket on a Saturday morning. The question that could be asked is, "What significance do the activities of the Operation Breadbasket have for the political process?"

2) A visit to a prison would also be a worthwhile student activity. Our penal systems are medieval in every sense. They are schools for crime. They do not rehabilitate. No one is paying any attention to this problem. How do you go about changing this? Mr. Simon agreed with Dr. Krug that our system works, it can respond, but we need people interested in our problems so that the system can respond.

3) Visits to institutions and classes for the mentally retarded were suggested. "How can we get the system to respond where it is not responding now? Our recent progress in Illinois in this area was not accidental. What are we doing now? What should we be doing?" These thoughtful questions were posed by Mr. Simon.

In this same vein Mr. Simon suggested a visit to a private institution in order to compare it to a public institution. The differences would be quite revealing. He also suggested visiting institutions for the mentally ill. "Nearly 40% should not be there because they are geriatric cases and not mental cases. What can be done about this?"

4) "The American Indian has always interested people. This interest stems from our feeling of collective guilt. In large cities they are now facing great difficulty. How do we respond to this situation? What can be done to help the Indians in large cities? This too would be an interesting project for high school students.

5) "People living on West Madison Street have a very high tubercular rate. Virtually no program to help them except that of the volunteer workers is in operation. What are the conditions here? How should the government respond?

6) "The Black-White situation - what are the problems? In settings that are largely all white it would be good for students to have several meaningful visits to an all black area. The same would be true in an all black situation. Making the bridges is an aspect of which we have been neglectful," Mr. Simon pointed out.

7) "There are about 400,000 Spanish speaking people in Chicago and not a single Spanish member of the Chicago City Council or the Illinois legislature. Their dropout rate in school is appreciably higher than the black dropout rate. Here too is a problem worthy of investigation.

8) "Air and water pollution must be an interesting problem if you live in a large city. Recently two anti-pollution bills were defeated in the State Legislature. What about this massive danger to our society today? What are we doing about it?

9) "Racial integration of housing is essential today, but what about economic integration? We stockpile people who don't know how to solve problems and how to earn a livelihood. Small towns are economically integrated without planning. People who have problems live next to people who know how to solve the problems. When you don't have economic integration, all kinds of problems, including educational ones, are created. Our zoning laws need a complete overhauling. Mr. Simon would like to see some high school seniors working on this.

10) "Religious prejudice shows us that we are not quite where we ought to be. We have come a long way, but we still have problems in this area.

11) "Noise is another problem we hear talked about today. We do know that not only hearing is affected. More research needs to be done. Schools can help in this area.

12) "Illinois is ranked 47th per capita in park and recreation space. Daniel Burnham had a vision 50 years ago to provide park and recreation

space for Chicagoans. Fifty years from now there will be between ten to twelve million people in Chicago. We need someone with this vision today. Why should teachers and students not think about this problem?

13) "It is important that students see poor white areas. They see poor blacks in the city. A trip to Pope County, Illinois would be worthy of consideration as would a trip to Cairo, which is indeed a troubled community. Why did the situation in Cairo get to the point it is today?"

Legislation is required in most of these areas mentioned. By investigating a problem students would also try to find out how to solve the problem. They will learn that our system can work if they can get people interested and involved. They could then petition the Illinois Assembly and the legislators would listen.

He stressed that teachers have to be interested and involved too. "You cannot teach citizenship if you are not practicing it. You cannot teach political science if you are not interested in the subject. Many teachers ought to be involved, enthusiasm is contagious. One's attitude should convey enthusiasm for public service. I hope that you will be among those who would do so."

Two other excellent class projects which would not offend parents would be the investigation of:

1) 18 year old voting. What is the experience of the four states that do not have 21 year old voting? How do you go about lobbying effectively for this? Parenthetically, Mr. Simon added that lobbying ought not to be considered a detrimental political activity. Much lobbying is done for good causes.

2) Another complicated issue a class could begin to explore would be the disclosure of income by political leaders. This relates to the growing crisis of confidence in our government. Mr. Simon believes that we should require disclosure of income for newly elected judges and for statewide public officials.

In conclusion, Governor Simon stressed the need for introducing politics and the study of public issues into the civics curriculum in schools.

In the ensuing discussion, Mr. John Poster of the University of Chicago, then referred to Mr. Simon's point regarding the 18 year old voting. He asked if there was some way for students to enter into the political parties and the decisions involved within the parties without door-bell ringing and folding flyers. Mr. Poster made the point that they are sought after for leg work in political life, but not for the power to be shared in the party. Mr. Simon's response was that it is done through the issues. "They are understandingly impatient. They will achieve a greater voice by voting." He believes that the 18 to 21 year old group has an idealism that the body politic needs.

Next, Dr. Kenton Stephens, Superintendent of the Oak Park Public Schools, asked if there couldn't be some encouragement for teachers to enter the political scene so that they can carry back to their classrooms the practical knowledge gained. Mr. Simon responded that he would be in favor of this. He mentioned that he had just appointed a task group on environmental problems and had included three teachers among the ten people

appointed. He also made the point that most United States Senators are lawyers and the second largest group is composed of teachers.

Another participant from the Prairie Day School in Racine suggested that the better job you do teaching the bigger the mess, due to disruptive issues present today. This speaker felt that the topics suggested by Mr. Simon were too safe. He raised the issues of Viet Nam, the peace moratorium, dress codes and drug laws. Mr. Simon's response was that he knew that students wanted to involve themselves with the major issues, such as Viet Nam, but here it is difficult to see the political process working. But if you get involved in an issue such as prison reforms you can see the steps of the political process. Immediate, local political problems are often neglected.

Mr. Matthew McDowell, a teacher at the Lewis-Champlin School in Chicago, asked Mr. Simon for some insight into the problems of economic segregation. Mr. Simon responded by pointing out that there has been little or no research done in this area. He sensed that the separation is unhealthy. "Rent supplement programs for decent housing, so mobility will be made possible for the poor, would be an attractive feature. These nice sub-divisions created in the suburbs may be causing many problems in the long run. We haven't faced up to economic segregation. The inner city is becoming the home of the poor. The jobs are in the plants in the suburbs."

Dr. Herbert Zimmerman, Principal of Roosevelt High School in Chicago, mentioned that many communities are also becoming segregated age-wise. This concluded the remarks after Governor Simon's address.

# ATTITUDINAL RESEARCH STUDIES OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Paul F. Kleine
Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology

University of Chicago

I'm very pleased to have the opportunity to speak to you this morning. I would like to deal with three major purposes for this morning's presentation. First, I will argue the need for studies of teacher and student attitudes toward citizenship. I will also play on your sympathy to indicate how difficult attitude measurement can be and also to ask your cooperation and help in refining a study presently underway. Third, I will be eliciting reactions and suggestions for this study and also suggestions for other topics that you feel need to be researched.

To provide a bit of background I would like to share with you several research studies in the area of citizenship that have been undertaken during the last dozen years. In 1957, a book entitled, The American Teen-Ager by Remmers and Radler emerged on the scene which shocked a lot of people. The authors presented survey evidence which indicated that teenagers really did not believe in the Bill of Rights. Teenagers indicated support for police searches without a warrant, wire tapping evidence, and stopping communists from speaking. In short, while the teenagers in the '50s would indicate their support for an abstract freedom they would restrict it in the concrete.

While people were shocked at the results of the study of teenagers it was interesting that fewer people appeared concerned when the same

results were found later when studying adults. For example, in response to the general question "Do you believe in freedom of speech?", 97% of all adults sampled said yes. This is in no way surprising; however, the 97% that said yes to the previous question were asked the following four questions with the corresponding results.[1]

| TABLE I | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Consider a man whose loyalty has been questioned before a congressional committee, but who swears under oath he has never been a communist. Should he be allowed to make a speech in your community, or not? | 70% | 21% | 9% |
| 2. If a person wanted to make a speech in your community favoring government ownership of all the railroads and big industries, should he be allowed to speak, or not? | 58% | 31% | 11% |
| 3. If a person wanted to make a speech in your community against churches and religion, should he be allowed to speak, or not? | 37% | 60% | 3% |
| 4. Suppose an admitted communist wants to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? | 27% | 68% | 5% |

In addition to this rather carefully done study, similar findings emerge almost daily in our newspapers. In California recently, a class of college sophomores conducted a survey by asking people to endorse a petition

1 Cited in Fred Greenstein, The American Party Systems and the American People. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963, p. 9.

which stated support for one or another of the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. While many people did, in fact, sign the students' "petition" they received a variety of responses which were interesting. Here are several that I have selected.

1. "I believe in your cause, but I won't sign the petition."
2. "I'll donate money to your cause, but I won't sign the petition."
3. "It might be a good idea, but it won't work in practice."
4. "No, I won't sign it, it's unconstitutional."
5. "Why don't you communists go back to Russia if you don't like America?"

In summary, certainly one argument for undertaking such a study of student knowledge and attitudes towards citizenship would be the growing awareness that there are two worlds emerging. One view is of the ideal democratic process and the other, and much more important, the view which is really internalized and practiced. Certainly any teacher of social studies would be interested in that gap between the real and the ideal and certainly would be interested in closing that gap, if possible.

Other reasons could be cited for undertaking a study of this kind. Certainly the growing politicization of students is becoming a real factor today. The old problem of getting students interested in politics is no longer the issue. The new issue is in what kind and form of political activity will the students be engaged. I read just this morning that President Hayakawa was asked whether he thought there would be unrest in the nation's educational

institutions this fall. He indicated that there were three types of institutions that probably would be the only ones to escape violence and unrest this fall. He listed them as 1) police academies, 2) karate schools, and 3) embalming schools. Whether Hayakawa's bleak prediction is warranted or not, one thing should be very clear. Students are becoming more sensitized to and aware of political process. It would appear to be the golden age for citizenship teachers.

A third reason supporting such a study could be listed. We are engaged in a difficult task of following the presidential campaign sorting through the cliches which lay strewn along the campaign trail. For example, the one which will plague us for some time to come is working our way through the law-order-justice cliche. What becomes a slogan at one period must then be worked through with intensive analytical skills during the next period of history.

Assuming that we feel convinced of the importance of attitudinal research, one should realize the real difficulties of undertaking studies in this area. I would like to briefly list and illustrate some of these, in that frequently they are underemphasized and the inherent weaknesses of a study are not apparent. First and foremost I would cite the following problems. A study of citizenship attitudes is a very subtle and complex task. Psychologists have labored with the problem of measurement of attitudes for years. Several reasons could be listed which add to the difficulty. First, attitudes are fleeting and shift quickly. Your attitude about a particular issue

or topic certainly is affected by information which you receive, papers which you read, your own mood, smog or lack of smog in the air, and a variety of smaller or greater stimuli. If attitudes were not fleeting and shifting, a huge portion of your teaching job would be ruled out. Certainly one would hope that attitudes can and will shift. While this makes teaching possible, it makes research difficult. A second problem dealing with measurement of attitudes is that one's own motives are sometimes unconscious. We aren't even aware of our own attitude at times. We can deal with some possible reasons for explaining why we believe and think as we do, however, as with the iceberg, a huge portion of our motivation remains hidden even from our own eyes. Thus, even if we wanted to say precisely how we feel about a topic it may not be completely possible. Third, even when we're aware of our attitudes we tend to guard them from other's views. All people are provided with this form of defense and there is nothing pathological about it. We simply are careful about revealing how we feel about a topic until we're quite sure who might have access to this information. To illustrate the guarding and filtering of the attitudes which we are willing to share with others let me give you the following question. Compare your response to the following question in several different contexts. First, the question: "What are your attitudes toward teaching as a profession?" Think about it for a while. Imagine the response you would give to this question if asked by each of the following persons in turn: 1) A student stops by after class to ask you your attitudes toward teaching. 2) A parent who has just told you how pleased he is with the progress his son has made in your class. 3) A fellow teacher in a

coffee lounge during a bad day. 4) Your husband or wife. 5) Your bartender who has just told you that if teachers' hours get any shorter and teachers' salaries get any higher he's going to go back to his old job as chairman of the history department.

In addition to the difficult task of measuring attitudes, another problem exists. What are the relationships between attitudes and more overt behavior? All teachers have struggled with this problem. Let me give two brief examples. This point was driven home to me a few years ago as I observed a science class at the junior high school level. The teacher was doing a magnificent job of overcoming myths that exist about snakes. He disspelled the notion that they were slimy, they were in fact only cold-blooded and very dry. He took each myth in turn, drew out the students' feelings from the class and then proceeded to permit them to refute the fallacious claims. He was doing an admirable job and the children in the class appeared to be convinced that not only was the snake an acceptable species of the animal kingdom, but in fact no home should be without one. At about this point, the teacher reached into his desk drawer and produced an 18-inch garter snake. Somehow the screams of the girls raised in my mind the question of whether attitudes had been reshaped. Shortly after that episode, I was doing home in the car and listening to the radio. The news commentator ended his five minute broadcast with the anecdote of a 19-year old boy in St. Louis, Missouri who had been arrested that day for stealing a record album entitled, "Thou Shalt Not Steal." And so, we too, must deal

in our research with the questionable assumption that attitudes will lead to more overt behaviors.

In summary, I feel a study of citizenship knowledge and attitudes is important; relevant to today's educational tasks and should be undertaken. I've tried to convey to you some of the difficulties encountered when one attempts a measure of attitudes.

## A PROPOSED STUDY

The present study which I would like to explain to you seeks partial answers to two broad questions: 1) What do adolescents know and how do they feel about selected citizenship concepts and values? 2) What is the relationship between knowledge and attitudes toward citizenship concepts? Additional correlates of citizenship knowledge and attitudes will be examined. These possible correlates include student's age, home background, length of residence in Chicago, SES, school achievement and intelligence factors. To permit examination of these basic questions the following three major data sources will be utilized.

I. Citizenship knowledge

From the available standardized tests, the test of civics produced by Educational Testing Service has been selected. This will permit a comparison of the students in this study with a national norm group as well as provide a measure of citizenship knowledge.

II. Citizenship attitudes

There are three separate data sources for this component.

a. Word association test of key concepts, terms, roles, and political figures from civics texts, curriculum guides as well as those terms in daily usage were selected. Students will be asked to free associate their responses to these items. Factor analysis of the responses will permit an examination of the attitude dimensions used by the students in this study when thinking about citizenship concepts and values.

b. Efficacy scale

A measure was adopted from Greenstein which indicates an individual's sense of political powerlessness or alienation. Some examples of items from this measure follow:

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) In a democracy like ours all people are able to have a voice in the way the country is being run. | | | | | |
| 2) I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think. | | | | | |
| 3) Citizens who complain long enough will eventually be heard. | | | | | |

c. Value conflicts

Situations similar to those used by Remmers and Radler were developed to measure the discrepancy between students' acceptance of

citizenship values at the ideological level in contrast with the operational level. For example, students are asked to agree or disagree with two items dealing with freedom of speech. Students will also be asked to select between two alternatives. Several examples follow:

1. a. People have the right to express whatever they want to in print.

   b. Police or governmental agencies should have the power to ban or censor certain books.

2. a. People in the local community should have the right to decide who will attend the school in their area.

   b. Pupils of all races and nationalities should be able to attend classes together everywhere in this country.

It is anticipated that both inner-city and suburban schools will be utilized in this study with the primary grade level focus being the 8th and 10th grades. The instruments used for data collection have been field tested and final decisions regarding sample size and schools to be selected will be made soon.

The data from this study will be analyzed at two levels. First, a description of the present knowledge and attitudes of 8th and 10th grade students in this study will be provided. Second, the relationship of two factors of grade level and citizenship knowledge with the three measures of citizenship attitudes will be examined. It is anticipated that the results of this study will be helpful in curriculum planning and selection of appropriate teaching methodologies in the vital area of citizenship education.

In summary, I would like to review the purpose of the study. We hope to measure the knowledge and understanding of citizenship concepts of 8th and 10th grade students. Two major purposes are guiding our research.

1) We hope to add to our understanding of an important area in education.

2) We hope to provide leads which can feed into the production of supplementary materials. For example, if sharp differences are found between 8th and 10th graders our development of units can be prepared for a particular age group. One very interesting secondary purpose could be cited. The measures of attitudes and value conflicts might make very interesting diagnostic tools in and of themselves. For example, administering the value conflict tests will yield either sharp disagreements on particular values or perhaps clear consensus on certain issues. In either event, they could provide interesting discussion starters as you or the students challenge each other as to the position taken.

Finally, to implement our purposes, measures were developed to tap three areas that should be considered important to teachers. 1) Knowledge of citizenship concepts, 2) Sense of involvement in the democratic process, 3) Attitudes toward citizenship concepts and positions and people involved in our government.

We are presently making final decisions as to these measures before the study itself is conducted. We very much want your reaction and have provided time to think about suggestions today as well as time to report back to the group tomorrow.

Teacher Survey of Attitudes Toward Citizenship Education.

We have designed an interview guide to tap teachers' views in several important areas.

1. General demographic information as to the background of teachers. For example, how are civics courses presently being taught in your school? What specific training have the teachers had to prepare them for teaching citizenship, etc.?

2. Teachers' views regarding the following:

   a. What are the strengths and problems found in the present teaching of citizenship?

   b. What materials have been found useful and what additional materials will be needed to aid instruction?

   c. How do teachers deal with the question of values in the teaching of citizenship?

   d. What are the goals of citizenship education? Have they changed within the last ten years?

   e. What is the role of the teacher and the role of the school in initiating social change?

   f. What is the role of the student in the governance of the school?

The interview guide has been designed and field tested. We plan to interview representative teachers as widely as possible to elicit the issues considered important by teachers. From these results a questionnaire will be developed to be administered to a random sample of secondary teachers in the metropolitan Chicago area. Again, we welcome your suggestions.

Note:

After Dr. Kleine's presentation, the conference participants were broken up into four discussion groups. A moderator for each was appointed and asked to summarize his group's reactions to the teacher and pupil survey.

These reactions and the discussion they sparked are presented here.

## SECTION REPORTS: REACTIONS TO TEACHERS AND PUPILS SURVEY

1. Robert Grove. History teacher - Naperville Central High School

Our group thought citizenship education should be a continuous process permeating the whole curriculum and involving the whole teaching staff. A separate course of civics would not meet the goals of a good citizenship education; though formal presentation of government structure should be included. The topics covered should relate to current events, elections, public issues and utilization of news media.

When we think of materials to be developed in the area of citizenship education we must include interviews with public officials at the local level, field trips, and less dependence on textbooks and more on use of life experiences as part of citizenship education.

The goals of citizenship education should be involvement, participation, and understanding of political life. This could best be found in the local political scene. A suggested activity might be the preparation of a city budget or city planning.

Exposure of the teacher's own political views should depend upon the maturity of the student. Both sides of an issue should be presented. We should develop an acceptable process for arriving at a position.

We asked ourselves if there are basic values inherent in the American political system and decided that there were: the dignity and value of the individual would be one, the rule of the majority is another such basic value. The fact that our nation is a product of change and evolution must be stressed, and the concept of the rule of law would be another basic value to which we as teachers ought to adhere. This is a summary of our group discussion.

2. Phyllis Wockner. Curriculum Director--Von Steuben High School, Chicago, Illinois

Our group thoroughly discussed the use of the questionnaires in the teacher and pupil surveys. We felt that the questionnaires ought to be given not only to social studies teachers, but should be submitted to all the members of the faculty.

Co-curricular activities should emphasize the developments of good citizenship.

The question on the teacher survey controversy in politics is too limiting. Rather, it should include social problems also.

Our group thought that the pupil survey should be conducted in the 7th and 10th grades rather than in the 8th grade because 8th graders are gearing themselves to the preparation of the constitution test. By changing the test to the 7th grade this would free the students from curriculum expectations and then you could more easily teach the course in citizenship to

identify the needs of the child and to meet those needs as they are revealed.

The groups questioned how much information is really expected on the part of the pupil. Is there a basic preparation necessary that some students might not have, to answer these questions? Still, with reference to the pupil's survey, our group challenged the response possibility, "don't know." We felt that it would be better to force the students to a stand, by deleting the answer choice, "don't know." The answers to the student questionnaire would be very useful to the teacher. The answers from New Trier students might be different from the answers of inner-city students. The students themselves might evaluate why people in one area of this city or state answer differently than those in another area. We questioned whether the unit materials, Slogans and Standard Bearers, as such, could satisfy the needs of all kinds of students. Perhaps the material would be geared to solve the problem of one particular area, but certainly not all.

3. Verna Happel. Social Studies Teacher--Mann School, Oak Park, Illinois.

Our group discussed several aspects of giving such an attitudinal test to the pupils. Who should administer the test, the teacher or an outsider? We felt that it should be returned unsigned. Another factor to be considered in the administration of the test would be whether the democratic process is being used in the classroom. The teachers definitely influence the answers of their students. Perhaps the survey could be given three times at different intervals in order to insure accuracy. A question might

be prepared to elicit how the student thinks he got his ideas and from whom he got them. Our group felt that further teacher training is necessary in citizenship education.

4. Wayne Duval. Social Studies teacher--Racine Public Schools.

We agreed that the pupil survey is a good thing; however, some questions appeared to be loaded. We discussed thoroughly whether a free association test is really free.

Another suggestion was to give the test for students' attitudes to teachers. Dr. Kleine wondered how much resistance he would meet with if he did use this same test on teachers. He felt teachers tend to respond to the open-endedness of their survey and they would tend to be distrustful if they were given the pupil survey.

The point of the teachers' political views reflecting the community in which they taught, was also discussed. The parents' political attitudes are generally unknown. This would make a very interesting topic for investigation.

Mrs. Bernstein asked if there is a correlation between the operational democracy of the school and the student's attitudes toward the governmental institution. How can a student effect a change in his school? The individual's ability to influence the school might be the same ability he has to influence the government. This too would make an interesting topic for investigation.

Another person brought up the question of what students themselves think about the teaching of values. Often teachers are the mediators between the culture of the parents and the culture of youth. It was felt that the personal example of teachers does influence the students, but not the preaching the teacher does.

## LUNCHEON

A noon luncheon was attended by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Schwartz and Mr. Charles Schwartz, Jr., who were the guests of honor.

Roald F. Campbell, Dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Chicago, chairman of the luncheon session, stressed the importance of citizenship education. He pointed out that the lack of faith in the democratic process on the part of many today is really a lack of understanding; therefore, we must search for better ways to make knowledgeable citizens. The political conflict makes us question if we believe the values we have already enunciated.

He then expressed appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Schwartz on behalf of the University for their great generosity which made it possible to establish the Citizenship Project.

# POLITICS--THE HEART OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Dr. Mark M. Krug
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It would be belaboring the obvious to state that recent developments on the American university campuses and in many high schools throughout the nation, make it imperative to improve and to strengthen citizenship education in the schools. The riots, disorders and the sit-ins, often accompanied by coercion and vandalism, provide clear evidence that a substantial portion of our young people feel distrustful or antaganostic to the adult community. They think that the governmental agencies on all levels are seriously flawed, and, most importantly, they lack an understanding of and faith in the traditional processes in our democratic system for the redress of grievances. Something is obviously wrong if in Tilden High and Gage Park High, black and white students attack each other with fists and insults, and when white and black construction workers in Chicago and Detroit have to be restrained by police from a bloody confrontation.

The root for this apparent lack of faith in our system of government lies, it seems to me, in the lack of an in-depth understanding of the unique ways in which the American government has evolved, and the ways in which it works, and in the way it can work. It is obvious that we must search for new ideas and new approaches which would lead to more effective citizenship education in our schools. The reference here is not to specific civics

courses, but to a broader context of educating young people in our schools, who will be knowledgeable participants, and, yes, hopefully, proud citizens of the United States of America. Many people, young and old, feel that the system has ceased to work. How do schools respond to this serious crisis?

There is a strange paradox in the far-reaching demands made for citizenship education and the reality that one encounters in the civics and social studies classrooms. As a rule, citizenship education is limited to the study of the Constitution which culminates in a test on the Constitution, usually administered by the state, and to the study of the structure and functions of the United States government. Much can and should be done to bring more life, more drama, more interest and more excitement to citizenship education. Obviously, there can be little of that dramá and excitement as long as so many teachers make the civics textbook the cornerstone of their instruction.

Many civics and government textbooks are well written and describe the structure and the legal function of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the Federal Government and deal with the state and local governmental units in a scholarly fashion. Yet, textbooks suffer from a number of grave shortcomings. First, like all textbooks they constitute a body of <u>conclusions</u>, some correct, some partly correct, and a few representing the personal opinions and judgments of the author or authors. It is exactly conclusions and judgments that our students need least, especially on such complex issues as the seniority rule in Congress or the growing involvement

of the Federal Government in education. By presenting "conclusions," one should not assume that the textbooks take a clear cut position on some controversial issues. On the contrary, the "conclusions" are more often than not inane and lifeless summaries of two opposing viewpoints on the complex issue in question. It is exactly such a succession of inane summaries that makes effective teaching of civics so difficult. By glossing over some of the most important problems facing our body politic, most textbooks take the starch and the life out of citizenship instruction.

This leads us to another difficulty. Many textbooks fail to present the United States of America as it is--a powerful democratic country which, using the criterion set down by Alexis de Tocqueville, has proved capable of providing the most good for the most people. Our democracy should be presented as one in constant need of a conscious effort for improvement, a democracy challenged to deal successfully with a variety of new issues and conflicts that result from the ever-changing conditions of a modern society. Some textbooks and some syllabi, in attempting to avoid giving offense to various interests and levels of authority and legitimate and not-so-legitimate pressure groups, often omit discussion of some controversial issues. What is worse, there is often lacking a clear commitment to the refinement and improvement of our democracy. After reading through a civics textbook which treats explosive questions like civil rights, prayers in public schools, gingerly and superficially, why should a high school student feel puzzled, disturbed, and stimulated to do some hard thinking on these complex issues?

It would seem logical to assume, upon some reflection, that our young people will love America more, not less, when they arrive at the realization that in spite of the difficulties, conflicts, and weaknesses, a free democratic society provides the best opportunity for its citizens to enjoy the benefits of a "Good Life." They will love America more, not less, when they gain the insight that generations past have built America soundly and well, but have left for them the task of improving and refining our way of life. They should realize that it is in the nature of a democracy to always seek improvement and perfection. Furthermore, realistic and challenging teaching of civics would prevent our students from becoming disillusioned cynics when they find out from their first college instructor or from some life experience that all is not sweetness and light in our politics and in our society. Whether we like it or not, our ideals and way of life will be challenged in coming years and decades, directly or indirectly, peacefully or violently, by small representatives of totalitarian regimes who will cite chapter and verse in an attempt to prove that communism, fascism or anarchy are the "wave of the future." Our young people must be ready to accept the challenge. To do so, they must be imbued with and committed to "The American Creed," meaning the basic values on which this country was founded, including the rule of law, the rule of the majority and freedom of speech, but they must also be aware of the shadows in our society and of the many unresolved conflicts and problems. They must be prepared to defend intelligently the advantages of our way of life and of our system of government and we, the older generation, must make sure that

they can point with pride to progress that is being made. In a word, all of our young people must become convinced that our system does work and that it deals effectively, if often slowly, with its shortcomings.

Our instruction in government and in civics has been woefully inadequate in giving our high school students a clear comprehension of the unique genius of the American government, and in fostering in them a commitment to the basic ideals on which this republic was founded and which still constitute the bedrock of its existence. We have somehow failed to explain to the young how this country, through its unique, pragmatic political process, dealt in the past with difficult tasks: the absorption and assimilation of millions of immigrants, a sound and fair balance between the interests of business and labor and the extent of the responsibility of the Federal Government to assure the "general welfare" of all citizens. We teach <u>what</u> was done but not <u>how</u> it was done. It is the knowledge and understanding of how these great and difficult societal problems were resolved that may have a great instructive value to the young people today. This instruction can not be effective if we persist in treating the issues of race, religion, sex, and ethnic groups as "taboo areas" in social studies.

## POLITICS

If one were pressed to single out one most important weakness in the study of civics in high schools, it would be the almost complete exclusion of <u>politics</u>. Somehow, and very mistakenly, it is assumed by almost all textbook writers and by many teachers that the study of politics does not

belong to the study of government. In fact, it seems to us that the study of the Constitution, of government and citizenship is almost meaningless without the teaching of the political process. The Constitution, to take one example, enumerates the powers of the President and it prescribes the mode of his election, but it says nothing of the long process of nominating candidates for the Presidency, about the party conventions and the election campaigns. It should not be difficult to argue that the knowledge of how we go about selecting a President is essential and indispensable to the understanding of the role and the functions of the Presidency.

The exclusion of politics from our civics classrooms is even more incomprehensible and inexcusable if one looks at it from a purely dydactic, methodological point of view. Politics as the art of the possible and the struggle of men for power is interesting and dramatic and would need little motivation. On the contrary, intelligent and effective infusion of political content would make the study of the Constitution and civics interesting and absorbing. Theodore White's books on the 1960 and 1964 Presidential elections became best-sellers, while many scholarly books on government can hardly sell a few thousand copies. Why? What is the secret of White's success? It is in the masterful way in which the author presents the fascinating and absorbing game and art of American politics. Who can describe the impact of the drama of his description of the night after the Wisconsin primary when Hubert Humphrey withdrew from the race in favor of John Kennedy, and with tears in his eyes, boarded the bus to go to his Minnesota home. There is drama and excitement in American politics and

the political process ought to be the core of civics education.

Let me come back to the crucial issue. We are facing a grave crisis of confidence in American education. We must convince the young that while much is wrong in our society, our basic system of government is sound. It is truly amazing from how many sources come the voices preaching the doom of our government. They are not limited only to the ultra-radical left and right fringes of our young people. The attacks on the basic system of our government often come from unexpected sources.

A highly praised book I have read is a case in point. I ordered the book after reading a number of very favorable reviews. The book is The Trial of Dr. Spock, by the English writer, Jessica Mitford. The reviewers, including those in the New York Times, Harpers, and the Atlantic Monthly, praised Miss Mitford for her alleged expose of the system of American justice. In fact, the reviewers said that Miss Mitford did as well in exposing American courts as she did previously in exposing the owners of funeral homes in her book on the exhorbitant cost of American funerals, The American Way of Death.

As I read the book, I became annoyed and frustrated. Miss Mitford's account deals with the conspiracy trial of Dr. Spock, Reverend Coffin, and Mr. Roskin. Let me make clear that my views of the book are not influenced by my stand on Vietnam. I am a dove and have deplored the indictment on bizarre conspiracy charges. Miss Mitford was perfectly within her rights when she criticized the statutes dealing with conspiracy. But she went further than that. She indicts the whole judicial system and condemns the system of trial by jury. The jury convicted the defendants and Miss Mitford

calls the jurors the "Twelve Tractable Men" who were unduly influenced by the prosecutor and by an allegedly biased judge.

In fact, Miss Mitford's own account proves just the opposite. She went to interview three of the members of the jury. All three proved to be highly intelligent people--who agonized a great deal before voting for conviction. Mr. C., one of the jurors said, in summing up his reaction to the trial:

> "I think if everyone could serve on a jury it would be very helpful to the whole country. I have said this to a lot of people. With all the goings-on in this country, to me this jury trial renews my faith in the United States system--to see the conscientious feeling of those men, taken at random--their sincere feeling and hope they've done the right thing."

After reading the profiles of the three members of the jury in Miss Mitford's book, I thought to myself that if I ever found myself in court I would like to have all three of them on my jury.

Miss Bernadine Dohrn, the executive secretary of the SDS, said recently in Chicago: "The System is Rotten. It does not Work. It must be Destroyed." Our answer must be: "The System is Sound. It has to be improved. The System does Work!"

# ATTITUDES AND VALUES IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

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"Could it be . . . that the pace and complexity of modern life has so exacerbated the problem of deciding what is good and what is right and what is worthy and what is desirable that large numbers of children are finding it increasingly bewildering, even overwhelming, to decide what is worth valuing, what is worth one's time and energy? Life is certainly less neat and simple than it was even a few generations ago." (12, p. 7.) While we send our Apollo spaceships to the moon with perfect technological virtuosity, what is happening back here at the ranch?

"'A perfection of means and a confusion of goals'" is the way our modern age was characterized by one of the world's most eminent scholars, Albert Einstein. (12, p. 7.) The social studies in general, and civics and citizenship education in particular, are commonly blamed--and with considerable justification--for the apparent gap between man's ability to control his environment and man's ability to order his life and his society well.

For some specifics, reference can be made to another eminent scholar, Professor Mark Krug of the University of Chicago, who has stated that social studies texts consistently fail to present the United States as it is and to provide an opportunity for critical thinking. The texts, he says, are guilty of "omitting or glossing over controversial issues (and) of avoiding

a clear-cut commitment to the fundamental democratic rights and to the obligation to work for the betterment of our democratic society." (8, p. 479-80.)

Basic to a clarification of individual and social goals and to effective thinking about "the betterment of society" is clear thinking about the nature of values and the role of values in education, particularly in citizenship education.

A number of questions about the nature and characteristics of values can be raised. Some of the interesting questions are: From what sources do men derive their values? To what kinds of objects and events do men attach values? What are the possible types or levels of commitment to values? To what extent are values a matter of public, as opposed to private, concern? Each of these questions will be discussed briefly.

Sources of Values and Value Systems

There are two principal and opposing views about the source of values. One is the view that goes back at least as far as the idealism of Plato, that values are somehow fixed and immutable. They may be fixed by nature; or by the gods; or fixed by one God, as in the Christian religion. They are absolute, somehow determined "out there" by the nature of the universe. The opposing view is that values are relativistic--made by man, or discovered by man, or determined by the rationality of man.

Two illustrations of relativistic or rationalistic values are the systems suggested by Edwin Fenton and Michael Scriven. Fenton has

proposed a classification into "behavioral," "procedural," and "substantive" values. (5, pp. 17-19.) In education, a behavioral value refers to conduct in the classroom. Children must be taught values that are conducive to orderly and productive processes of education. Procedural values refer to ways of learning and thinking; critical thinking, for example, should be valued over superstition. Substantive values include everything else, including views on religion, divorce, pacifism, and racial equality. It is quite proper, in Fenton's view, for teachers to persuade students to abide by the behavioral and procedural values that are dominant in our society, so that education can move forward. But it is quite improper for teachers to make any effort to inculcate any particular substantive values. Rather, various substantive values are to be subjected to examination by students, with no effort on the part of the teacher to guide students toward a "correct" set of values.

Fenton's classification of values was made as an aid to teachers and to himself in thinking through what kinds of values should and should not be taught. His view that substantive values should not be taught has gained some adherents among the creators of the "new social studies," but is at odds with the prevailing traditions in social studies.

Scriven has suggested that there is one basic value, from which all others can be derived. This "general moral principle ... (is) the principle of prima facie equality of rights for all ... (or) prima facie equality of consideration....From the axiom of equal rights, together with various facts about the organization and institutions of the society, it is possible to derive

the secondary values of justice, honesty, truth, trust, and so on....(It is possible) to show that the morality based on the principle of equal rights is the optimal one." (14, pp. 8, 15.)

A much more common approach to the specification of values is one that simply lists a number of values--neither abjuring the teaching of substantive values as does Fenton, nor building a logical, axiomatic structure of values as does Scriven. Such lists usually are derived in part from the prevailing American Judeo-Christian morality. Typical is the one published by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1951:

1. The supreme importance of the individual personality.
2. The responsibility of each individual for his own conduct.
3. Institutions as the servants of man.
4. Mutual consent is better than violence.
5. The human mind should be liberated by access to information and opinion--i.e., a devotion to truth.
6. Excellence in mind, character, and creative ability should be fostered.
7. All persons should be judged by the same moral standards.
8. The concept of brotherhood should take precedence over selfish interests.
9. Each individual should have the greatest possible opportunity for the pursuit of happiness.
10. Each person should be offered the emotional and spiritual experience which transcends the materialistic aspects of life. (4, pp. 18-30.)

## Objects of Commitment

Lists of values or goals such as the one just quoted give little or no indication of how the items on the list are related to each other. Some logical structure or taxonomic system would be useful to one who wishes to take an analytical view of values. The approaches of Fenton and Scriven, described above, provide such a structure.

Another classification of values, according to the types of objects or events valued, has been given by Harry Broudy. His classification includes economic, health, social, moral, aesthetic, intellectual, and religious values. (2.)

## Levels of Commitment

Another useful way of looking at values is according to degrees of levels of commitment to a value or goal. The Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook II: Affective Domain, by Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia, presents a structure that begins at a level of minimum engagement and progresses to a very high level of commitment.

Their taxonomy follows. (7, p. 37.)

1.0 Receiving

1.1 Awareness

1.2 Willingness to receive

1.3 Controlled or selected attention

2.0 Responding

2.1 Acquiscence in responding

2.2 Willingness to respond

2.3 Satisfaction in response

3.0 Valuing

3.1 Acceptance of a value

3.2 Preference for a value

3.3 Commitment

4.0 Organization

4.1 Conceptualization of a value

4.2 Organization of a value system

5.0 Characterization by a value complex

5.1 Generalized set

5.2 Characterization

Attitudes and Values

Attitudes and values are distinguished by most writers. An attitude is a simple generalized relationship of a person to a class of things or situations. A value is a judgment about the worth of a class of things or situations, usually connoting a comparison with other things or situations. Values are often considered to be more positive, more structured, and more likely to lead to action than attitudes.

Raths, Harmin, and Simon make a sharp distinction between attitudes and values on the basis of the strength of feeling and commitment. They state

that attitudes are indicated by statements such as "I feel that....," "I think...," and "The way I see it is...," (12, p. 67.) Values, on the other hand, are much stronger. In their view, an individual can be said to value something only if he chooses, prizes, and acts upon it. They specify seven necessary characteristics of a value (12, p. 30.):

Choosing: (1) freely

(2) from alternatives

(3) after thoughtful consideration of the consequences of each alternative

Prizing: (4) cherishing, being happy with the choice

(5) willing to affirm the choice publicly

Acting: (6) doing something with the choice

(7) repeatedly, in some pattern of life

After establishing such stringent criteria for values, these authors recognize that their definition may exclude many things that some persons might wish to call values. They define a set of weaker relationships--things that are something like values, but do not meet their seven criteria--which they call "value indicators." The value indicators are (1) goals or purposes, (2) aspirations, (3) attitudes (4) interests, (5) feelings, (6) beliefs and convictions, (7) activities, and (8) worries, problems, obstacles. (12, pp. 30-33).

## Private and Public Values

Another important aspect of values is the extent to which they are purely the private concern of individuals or have some characteristics which make them the concern of individuals other than those who hold the values. There are two major reasons why the values of one individual may become the concern of other individuals. The first is that some persons may be so certain that their values are the only right or reasonable ones that they feel they should impress them on others. If the persons holding such views control the power of a state, that power may be used to impress their values on the general public. Such has been the history of many nations controlled by or strongly influenced by persons who held this view of their own religious values. The Inquisition in thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century Europe and the witch hunts in late seventeenth-century New England are notorious but not singular cases. The use of the power of the state to impress one person's private values on others must be considered illegitimate by those who subscribe to Scriven's basic moral premise of equal rights or equal consideration.

The second reason why values may be considered a public concern is that the values held by some persons may lead to actions that will affect other persons for good or for ill. A person who places a low value on the rights of others may take actions that will harm others, whereas a person who values the rights of others highly may do things that will contribute to their welfare.

The private-public aspect of values is of great importance for citizenship education and will be considered at greater length later on.

Values Education in the United States

Values education in the United States has passed through several stages. Early in the history of the nation, most educational institutions were private and most were supported and administered by religious bodies. There was a conscious and pervasive concern with the inculcation of values held by the religious bodies, which were predominantly Christian.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the number of publicly-supported schools grew rapidly. There was less explicit teaching of religion in the public schools than in the private schools, but probably not much less emphasis on morality. The teaching of values was less conscious but still strong, moralistic, and Puritanical. The values taught were the partly-implicit values of the prevailing culture, rather than the totally-explicit values of particular religions. Rationality and the disciplined mind were highly prized, but not as applied to morality and religion.

During the twentieth century the doctrine of separation of church and state was more fully developed and more explicitly applied to public schools. The explicit teaching of religion, which continued in most public schools in a small way well into the twentieth century, was gradually eroded and finally expunged by a Supreme Court decision in the mid-1960's which prohibited religious readings and prayers, no matter how ecumenical and perfunctory.

Because values education has traditionally been associated with religion, the decline of religious education meant a decline in--but not complete elimination of--values education. Another factor that may have contributed to a decline in values education is an increasing belief in pluralism--in tolerance of cultural diversity. It is easy to equate pluralism and tolerance with a low level of concern with values, just as a lack of religion may be confused with a lack of morality.

Values education in the public schools of the United States as of the mid-1960's could be characterized in the following way. Values education was at low ebb, having been the prisoner of sectarian religion, which by then was exorcised from the schools. The explicit consideration of values was largely suppressed. The large residue of values in the curriculum was for the most part implicit and unexamined.

Within the last decade, some new approaches to values education have developed. Values are being considered apart from religion, as well as in their traditional relationship to religion: they are emerging from the unconscious, unexamined level into the light of day: they are being subjected to rational examination; and in these new contexts they are being recognized as a vital element in the curriculum.

Educational Approaches to Values

Four approaches to values education can be identified. They are indoctrination, clarification, analysis, and commitment. Indoctrination is a fair description of most of the values education that has taken place in

American education up to the present. Clarification, analysis, and commitment describe the emphasis of some of the newest social studies materials.

Indoctrination is the process of conveying attitudes, beliefs, and values without going through the route of reason and persuasion. It necessarily implies selectivity with respect to the attitudes, beliefs, and values to be inculcated and may also imply selectivity with respect to supporting facts that may be used. Indoctrination can be a legitimate educational function; selectivity is not necessarily bad, and not all good education has to be based on understanding. Indoctrination probably should be judged as illegitimate if it is done for the benefit of the indoctrinator, particularly if it is against the interests of the indoctrinees; it is also illegitimate if it involves misrepresentation.

Some of the authors of "the new social studies" have been particularly concerned with reforming the traditional approaches to values education. Some have emphasized clarification of values by the student, a process of making values specific and finding where one stands on them. Some have emphasized analysis of values, a process of learning what has caused values to be formed, how they are related to each other, and what their implications are. Some have emphasized commitment, a process of getting students to take clear stands on value issues and to defend and act on those values.

These new approaches to values education are illustrated by the works of Oliver and Newmann, of Fenton, and of Raths, Harmin, and Simon. To some extent, all of these authors lead the students toward clarification, analysis, and commitment. However, there are different emphases. Oliver

and Newmann stress clarification, as shown particularly in one of their materials booklets, Taking a Stand. (11.) Fenton emphasizes analysis of values, especially in his twelfth-grade materials, Humanities in Three Cities. (6.) Raths, Harmin, and Simon urge students to find values in which they can believe and to develop a strong commitment to them, as explained in their book, Values in Teaching. (12.)

To the extent that values have been taught in public schools in recent decades, the effort has been (1) to get students to form certain values and then (2) to reinforce and preserve those values. The implication of the new approaches to values education is that the first of these goals is legitimate but the second is not. The formation of values through educational processes is a proper goal, but the reinforcement and preservation of values is not. Rather, the educational process should constantly test the existing value systems of students. This process probably should not be too harsh or too persistent, but it should be continuous.

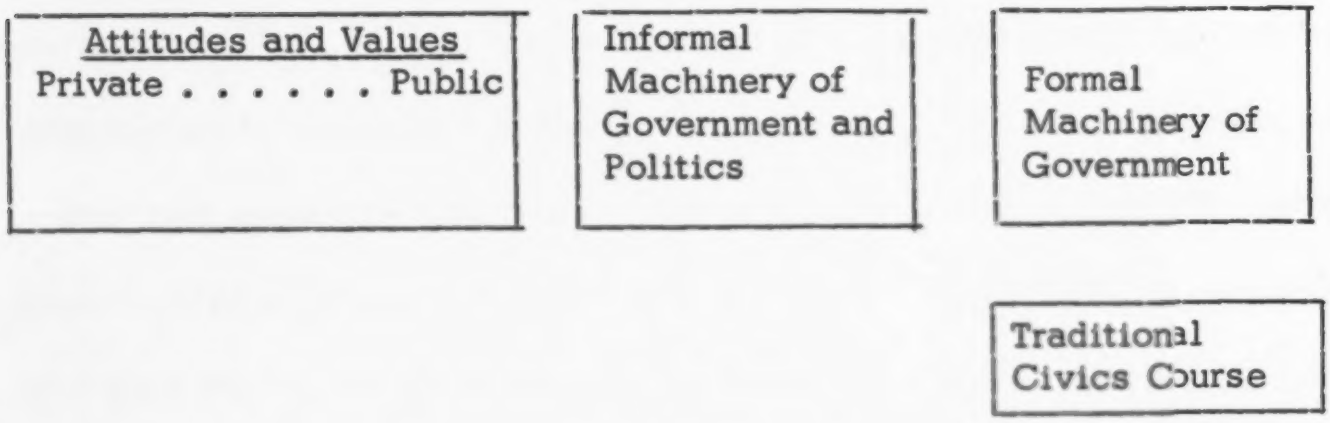
## Elements of Citizenship Education

While citizenship education is usually associated with the social studies in general, it has been associated most closely with courses in Problems of Democracy and Civics--particularly the latter, which is almost universally a required course in public schools in the United States. Some elements of citizenship education are shown in Figure 1, including the formal machinery of government and politics, and attitudes and values. In the real world, attitudes and values have an important impact on the informal

machinery of government; these relationships are shown by arrows between the boxes.

Figure 1

Some Elements of Citizenship Education


Attitudes and Values
Private . . . . . Public
Informal Machinery of Government and Politics
Formal Machinery of Government
Traditional Civics Course
Voting Behavior

## Democratic Attitudes

The civics course that has been typical for many decades and is still dominant today gives much time to the formal machinery of government and also includes a scattered selection from the private-public spectrum of values (which will be discussed in detail in the following secton). These relationships are shown in Figure 1, with "voting behavior" and "democratic attitudes" representing a larger number of values selected for their relationship to "civics."

Frederick Smith and John Patrick have described "most civics textbooks" as "fragmented," tending to "perpetuate a number of misconceptions about American society," giving "shallow treatment to controversial subjects,"

and inculcating "values through moralizing prescriptions." (3. pp. 110, 111, and 115.) These and other observations, based on a thorough survey of many current texts, show that citizenship education today, as reflected particularly in civics courses, leaves much to be desired.

Some of the newer curriculum materials are broadening the scope of the traditional civics courses. Some are taking a broader look at the processes of government, particularly including the informal machinery of government and politics. Others are taking a broader and deeper look at values and their relationship to government. Some parts of the Oliver and Newmann, Fenton, and Raths, Harmin, and Simon materials, described above, might well find a place in a revamped civics course.

## Public Morality and Public Concern

It was suggested earlier that the values held by an individual can be considered public or private depending on what effect actions based on them have on other persons. We can use the term "morality" to indicate actions based on moral values. Then "private morality" is value-based behavior which does not affect other persons and "public morality" is value-based behavior which does affect others. Actually, there is a continuum, not a dichotomy, between the two.

Citizenship education, because it has treated values as something to be inculcated and/or suppressed, not as something to be examined openly and rationally, has paralleled, and perhaps contributed to, a confusion that has always existed between private and public morality. That confusion, in turn, has led to bad public policy and laws.

One would suppose that there would be general acceptance of the premise that one of the important functions of laws should be to inhibit actions that might be taken by individuals which would harm other individuals. Following the Inquisition and the witchcraft trials in New England, one would also suppose that there would be little acceptance of the proposition that laws should be used for the purpose of enforcing upon everyone the private value positions or morality of the persons in control of the governmental machinery. It would follow that there should be a high correlation between the publicness of particular moral issues and the level of public concern about those issues. Such is not the case in our nation. There are many issues of private morality for which there is a high level of public concern, and many issues of public morality for which there is a low level of public concern.

A number of moral matters are shown in Figure 2, each placed according to the extent to which they are matters of private or public morality and according to whether there is generally a high or low level of public concern. Indication of the public or private nature of various types of moral actions is based on the author's judgment of the extent to which such actions affect the welfare of others. The level of public concern was determined by the author's judgment of how concerned the public at large seems to be about the issues, particularly as reflected in restrictive legislation on them.

If there were a high correlation between the publicness of the different types of actions and the level of public concern about them, all the items in Figure 2 would fall in a band running from lower left to upper

right. Clearly such is not the case. For example, sexual perversion, which the author judges to be a purely private moral matter, is of great public concern. Sexual violence, on the other hand, is indeed a matter of public morality, and is properly so judged by the public.

Gambling, pornography, and non-marital sex relations are private matters on which the public expresses much concern, though not as much as on sexual perversion. The smoking of marijuana and the smoking of tobacco are private matters; yet the public expresses great concern over the former and very little over the latter. The treatment of prisoners and other public charges is very much a matter of public morality, since society has asserted its right to control the lives of these persons; but there is little public concern about these matters of public morality.

There might be differences of opinion as to the placementof the moral actions within the box of Figure 2. But it is doubtful if anyone's placement of these items would make them fall on the diagonal from southwest to northeast. The indoctrinating, thoughtless, non-rational, and evasive treatment of values in the schools has helped to assure bad public policy on moral issues.

Figure 2

Public Morality and Public Concern

| | Private Morality | Public Morality |
|---|---|---|
| High Public Concern | Sexual perversion | Sexual violence |
| | Smoking marijuana | Drunken driving |
| | Gambling | |
| | Pornography | Marriage |
| | Non-marital sex relations | |
| | Drunkenness | Malfeasance in public office |
| | Drinking | Public deception |
| Low Public Concern | Art | Treatment of prisoners and other public charges |
| | Smoking tobacco | |
| | Normal marital sex relations | |

Some Suggestions for Citizenship Education

Values in social studies and citizenship education must be handled explicitly and analytically. The old and common lists of values to be inculcated in the schools are of little value because they do not help decision-makers deal with alternative choices. They seem to say that all values can be achieved and that there are no conflicts between them. But valuing implies comparisons between different goals and trade-offs among them. Sharp conflicts between treasured objectives should be faced. Cost-benefit analyses of different courses of action should be undertaken.

Courses that include values as a major element, including courses in religion, ethics, decision-making, and a revamped civics, may be useful. But values and citizenship education should also be incorporated in courses that deal primarily with other subject matter--particularly the social studies and social sciences, but also the humanities. The twelfth-grade materials of Fenton and Good, The Humanities in Three Cities, which may be used in the place usually assigned to Problems of Democracy, provide an excellent example of values and citizenship education combined with history and the humanities. (6.) These materials present lively and exciting pictures of Ancient Greece, Renaissance Florence, and modern New York, structured by three analytical questions: What is the good man? The good life? The good society?

## Conclusion

Citizenship education, like the rest of the social studies, has dealt with values as things to be inculcated in students without examination and without analysis. It has contributed to ineffective and unexciting values education.

Citizenship education is a part of values education and must deal with values openly and analytically. It has a special obligation to consider the private-public nature of values and the implications of this distinction for public policy.

Citizenship education should be concerned with clarification and analysis of values. If clarification and analysis are well done, then it is legitimate to engage in some indoctrination and to push students toward commitment to certain values.

An attractive model for citizenship education is to deal with it in a broad context of the social sciences and humanities. However, special courses designed for citizenship education are feasible and can be effective if they take advantage of the recent work of critics of the old civics and of creators of new approaches to civics and social studies.

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SLOGANS AND STANDARD BEARERS
THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS

Mrs. Jean Bernstein
The Author

Note: Prior to the conference the participants were sent copies of the unit, Slogans and Standard Bearers, The National Party Conventions and the Teacher's Guide which accompanies it. They were asked to preview the material so they would be able to carefully follow Mrs. Bernstein's explanation and participate in the discussion of the material.

A visiting British reporter, representing the Manchester Guardian at the 1952 Republican Convention was quoted as being fascinated by "the girls in kilts, the bands in shakos pounding impartially for every candidate, the radio singers whooping it up on top of the chairman's desk." When someone asked the reporter how American politics compared with English, he looked very surprised. "Politics," he repeated. "Politics? How should I know? So far I have seen everything here except politics."

This reporter's confusion can be likened to that which many students experience when they compare the political process as it is presented in civics textbooks with the political events in the real world. For politics as presented in the classroom is often sterile and meaningless. Carefully selected information is presented about the structure of the political system, but little emphasis is placed upon the process whereby political leaders attain power and make decisions, compromise ideas and promote ideals.

The viability of traditional political processes is under careful scrutiny today. Some Americans--after the tragic events in Chicago during the summer of 1968--question whether old structures any longer serve today's need. The Democratic Party is presently conducting a national committee investigation of

ways to democratize the convention process. Who chooses the candidate? Congress and the Executive alike have supported changes to place the election of the President directly into the hands of the voters. Who chooses the President?

Students should be helped to evaluate criticisms of our political processes and proposals for change. Knowledge of political structures alone cannot give the sophisticated view upon which informed assessment is based. Only when students understand the dynamics of political life, the how and why of it all, can they make sense of the world in which they live.

The real world--the political world of today--is perhaps more open to student consciousness now than at any other time in our history. Television has made every living room an action theatre for observing day-by-day political incidents. It is also the area for dramatizing the negative aspects in politics. Additionally, the science of political decision making has now moved from the executive office and the legislative chamber to the college campus, the courtroom (witness the conspiracy trial taking place in Chicago), the park, the street corner. And incidentally, high school and junior high school students are applying the political methods being taught by the times--they are internalizing these lessons rather than the neat ideas that compose the typical civics problem.

Three examples of this come to mind.

First, the case of the students having long hair being dismissed from the Barrington School. The problem was one of confrontation against the

school administration and against the Board of Education of Barrington.

Second example, a student group in our lunchroom. In order to stress the need for better food in the lunchroom, they planned a sit-in, a demonstration, and a vigil. These were the three alternative they could think of. When I questioned the students about other means of attaining their ends they had neglected to think of contacting the people who ran the school lunchroom and talking to them about the problem.

The third example is the moratorium on peace that took place a few weeks ago. At our particular high school it took the form of a student walk-out. The leaders were approached to get the students to return to the school and their classes. One leader gave a typical Abbie Hoffman-type response by saying that he would get the students back in class if the administrator would buy them all a coke! No matter what we think, the students will learn the lesson of their times: Learning to work outside the structure--and not within or through it.

As Bob Dylan says--"The times, they are a changing"--and it is critical that we evaluate our traditional civics programs to see that what we are doing is really relevant. I would like to suggest to you that these programs suffer today--indeed they have always suffered--from four problems:

1. We have had little information about the needs of the learner--or even about the ways in which children develop and internalize political attitudes--on which to base our programs.

2. We have tended to idealize the political process and to ignore the fact that it has not always worked well, that it may need revision.

3. We have tended to separate the process and the individual, to ignore the ways in which individual action can affect the process.

4. We have tended to focus upon structure--the three branches of government, the number of legislators, etc., --and shortchange the dynamics of the process by which these structures operate. Fortunately, there are curriculum and research projects that are addressing their attention to these problems:

1. Recently there has been considerable research on the development of political attitudes. One is David Easton's The Child's Image of Government. Another is Dr. Paul Kleine's Research Project at the University of Chicago.

2. New programs that deal with the realities rather than the idealizations of political processes: For example, the University of Illinois' Institution of Man, materials being developed such as Community Politics Game, a simulation game in which the students draw roles, elect a city board, and settle an issue. From this simulation game they discovered the value of a coalition. I was very interested in the response of one of my fellow teachers when she saw us playing this game. She said, "You're teaching them that politics is dirty." Rather than that, I would like children to learn that politics is the art of the possible.

3. New programs that seek to aid students to see how individuals can take part in grassroot politics.

4. New attempts to focus on process of government. The Schwartz Citizenship Education Project is one example.

"Slogans and Standard Bearers," a unit on the national party conventions, was designed with this purpose in mind. Specifically, the unit was based on two convictions. First, that students should understand the process by which men emerge, gain support, and are nominated for positions of national leadership. Second, that they understand the possibilities for individual involvement in the convention process, and for individual action in determining the quality of our national leaders.

The unit is divided into three parts, each designed to present a different viewpoint of the primary election and convention process. Part One, written from the viewpoint of the presidential candidate, covers the leadership role itself and the ways men gain support as contenders for nomination by their party. Part Two, written from the viewpoint of the convention delegate, deals with the process of selecting delegates and the role of delegates in party convention decisions. Part Three focuses upon the evaluation of the convention process as a method of selecting leaders. It is written from the viewpoint of the citizen voter.

Assignments within the unit deal with the convention process as it operates today and with historical events in the development of the process. Historical perspective is introduced as needed to give students background about today's events. Throughout the unit, students are given opportunities to assess whether national party conventions meet our political needs and operate in conformity with our established democratic philosophy.

I have many concerns regarding this unit as it is right now. One of my concerns is that it has been read by many people but as yet has not been

taught. People teach differently than they write, so, as it stands right now, I conceive of this as a unit subject to revision. There are many problems, possibilities, and some interesting aspects of the units in terms of use that could further be developed. I view the unit as a Japanese haiku. It is a brief statement, the reader must add his own images. A written curriculum such as this represents only the framework, the teacher must add her own ideas, students must add their reactions. The writer, the students, and the teacher together equal materials that will meet the needs of students in the classroom.

Note: Before the Conference began, three participants were asked to preview the unit and prepare a critique of how they would use the unit in their particular teaching situation. A summary of the panelists' critiques are presented here.

## CRITICAL EVALUATION OF SLOGANS AND STANDARD BEARERS, THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS

by Howard Levin
Social Studies Teacher
Roosevelt High School, Chicago, Illinois

As a unit of study I believe the topic of the National Party Convention is relevant, especially during the past eight years, and it is also very necessary in light of the political activism that is typical of our times.

I would like to point out some assets of the material as it is presented. It is a group of source readings rather than a preaching textbook. It has somewhat of a "problems approach." The sound historical examples presented for background information, such as the case studies, are very interesting. This is an honest and accurate treatment of the American political life. It deals with realities rather than platitudes and abstract structures that become meaningless and forgotten. This material encourages students, through activities, to become political leaders themselves, rather than playing the role of the spectator. The technique of simulation is a valuable teaching tool and perhaps this could be incorporated into the material. There is a wide variety of assignments for different levels of achievement. This is a good asset. Lastly, there is a good balance between language work, group work, and individual initiative.

Next I would like to discuss how this material could be used at

Roosevelt High School. First of all, there is a course called Community Civics taught at Roosevelt. It is for basic and essential track students, who have low reading scores, low average achievement, a high absence rate, and are generally thought of as difficult students to teach. The nature of the course as it is presently taught includes some government, some basic economics, psychology of personal adjustment, planning for occupations, and some work in current events. I feel that the unit under study would be very beneficial for these students but it is beyond their reading level, and the concepts presented are beyond comprehension for many of the students. I do feel, however, that some of the source materials could be used and that the activities presented might be modified to match the ability of these students. A multi-media approach would be necessary to adapt the material for this Community Civics course.

Perhaps the material could be used in the United States History course. United States History students are divided into regular, essential, honors and advanced placement tracks. The time factor involved produces a crisis in priorities. With so many vital topics to cover that are relevant to current problems, how much time can be spent studying the national convention considering the time needed for the students to prepare themselves for Public Law 195? The selectivity of materials is paramount to the teachers of United States History.

Contemporary American History, another course taught in the Social Studies Curriculum in the Chicago Public High Schools, is an elective course

for seniors. It competes with Economics and Afro-American History. Considering that the course does not cling to a particular textbook, and is what the teacher makes it, this material could very definitely be used. If a teacher uses a problems approach through documentary material, the unit would be well placed. Senior reading levels and the maturity of the older students would be well suited to the assignments of this material.

Students come from elementary schools with few insights and understanding related to the social sciences. What has been done to them in the elementary school? With the explosion of information, the turbulence of our times, and the critical issues and problems immediately facing our society, we must ask ourselves if the framework of our curriculum is doing an adequate job in educating our young people to come into tomorrow's world. I question a number of things: Must we continue to operate within the framework of parochial history? Is there enough flexibility to enable the teacher to provide relevant experiences at the high school level? I recommend that we begin to orient ourselves more towards the direction of the social science discipline that will enable a student to evaluate historical events and current phenomena through his own critical faculties rather than through the traditional history text and lectures that have put students to sleep for so many years.

# CRITIQUE OF SLOGANS AND STANDARD BEARERS, THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTION

by Miss Beverly Ball
Social Studies Teacher
Forrestville High School
Chicago, Illinois

It is necessary to answer the following questions in order to determine if this unit is effective for black students.

1. Is this unit relevant to the needs of black students?
2. Does it give an accurate picture of the party system?
3. Does it provide the students with a method to deal with the political party?
4. Does it develop critical thinking and encourage creativity?

In response to the first question, "Is this unit relevant to the needs of black students?" I believe that it is. If black people are going to survive in this country, they must play an active role in the governmental process of this country. Therefore, it is imperative that they understand the historical nature and mechanics of the party system. With reference to the second question, "Does this unit give an accurate picture of the party system?" I believe that it gives a typical watered-down explanation of the party system. Black students need to know how the political system really works, therefore, they should be aware of ethnic, geographical, and economic politics.

In response to the third question posed, "Does this unit provide the students with an effective method to deal with the political party?" I would say that this unit does not give them any effective method. However, the unit

gives them an opportunity to analyze and evaluate some of the methods and procedures which are used in the following steps:

a. The emergence of the candidate

b. The selection of the delegate

c. The responsibility of the convention committees

d. The operation of the political convention

After each step has been introduced and evaluated, it is necessary to ask the following questions. Is this method the best way? Will this method work for black students in the inner city, or white students in the wealthier outer city?

In answer to the fourth question, "Does this unit develop critical thinking and encourage creativity?" I think that many of the student assignments provide for critical thinking, however, the too brief time factor limits creativity. There is also a need to involve more students in planning class activities instead of the teacher telling the students what to do.

Regarding the application of this unit, I believe that citizenship education should be taught in all grade levels. This unit would be effective on the junior and senior high grade level.

CRITIQUE OF SLOGANS AND STANDARD BEARERS
THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS

by Mr. Robert Grove
Social Studies Teacher
Naperville Central High School

My comments will be very specific concerning the booklet under examination.

The mention of the Rich Township Democratic Organization as presented in Class Session Eight, may be very different and far removed from the Democratic organization in an urban ghetto area and therefore probably may not be relevant to the experience of city students.

The lack of the multi-media approach is apparent. The reactions to sight and sound, as well as non-verbal experience are areas of importance on the education scene. The written word, this booklet as an example, has a reduced effect compared to the quick impact of television commercials. Ought we to ignore the visual communications in presenting this material in a booklet?

The time factor as presented in the Teacher's Guide seems to be too tightly structured, but there are helpful suggestions for the teacher to adapt the materials as he sees fit.

The readability level, which I would set at grade nine or ten, seems to differ from the interest level--grade eleven or twelve.

Administrative and curricular problems are to be considered. There would be no place for the topic, "The National Party Conventions," in a parochial history course. The obvious answer is a revamping of the social

studies curriculum. Often this is met with resistance by teachers themselves because they have not been adequately prepared to change their teaching methods, or for the changes in content.

I suggest an inter-disciplinary approach to the development of future booklets. I would like to see booklets deal with personality and leadership, ethnic groups and religion, public opinion and propaganda, Congress, the Supreme Court, pressure groups, the Bill of Rights.

A broadening of scope and activities would increase interest in the subject of citizenship education.

GROUP REACTIONS TO MATERIALS "SLOGANS AND STANDARD BEARERS--
THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTION."

Following Mrs. Bernstein's presentation, the conferees were divided into four groups in order to facilitate discussion. The chairmen of these groups were asked to report back to the entire group the next day.

The reactions to the units are presented in summary form here.

Mr. Mathew McDowell, the spokesman for the first group, related that they built their discussion around three questions: the level of the material, the concern of pupils for national conventions and the time element as expressed in the Teacher's Guide. It was felt that the material could be used on many different levels depending upon the adaptation done by the teacher. It was also felt that since the convention is held once every four years it might be somewhat remote from many youngsters. The student assignment activities were judged as very good. Much outside preparation seems necessary. Mr. McDowell's group wondered if this was realistic. Participation and involvement in politics at the local level as the outcome of the citizenship education activities is a desirable result from this unit. Both pupils and teachers stand to gain a great deal from using this material. In the discussion that followed, it was agreed generally that the time limits suggested were unrealistic.

Miss Beverly Ball, discussion leader of the second group, mentioned that in the black community it might better serve their purposes to start a study of the politics with the block captain or the precinct captain and explain how one gets to be a member of the city council, rather than using

the national convention for a starting point. This unit as is, assumes knowledge on the part of the student that he may or may not have. Another teacher felt that the material was too simplistic for the 11th grade. The mention that teachers should be given the answers for the assignment questions in the teacher's guide was laughingly agreed upon. The questions presented in the unit were carefully scrutinized. Sometimes they were felt to have been too general and should more carefully lead the student to the answer. Questions classified according to the ability level of the student would make the teacher's task easier.

The third group report was given by Dr. Samuel Dolnick, principal of Von Steuben High School. Dr. Dolnick's group observed that a teacher might have a problem using this material in a non-election year because of low student interest. Another criticism was that the unit does not stress concepts and develop them. It was felt that the use of the term "Suggested Activities" be used instead of "Student Assignments." The cartoons possibly could be considered too immature for the senior high school level. If the format were changed and more topic type headings appeared in the student book, it would be a handy guide for the student to read, organize content and review it. The cost of the material should be considered. There are supplementary books required, (Theodore White's Road to the White House) and if we knew their cost, this would be helpful for administrative purposes. Dr. Dolnick's group concluded the discussion by noting that the best way to develop good citizenship is by example.

Arline Paul was her group's spokesman. Mrs. Paul revealed that most of the members of her group agreed that they would have difficulty in incorporating this unit into the United States history class because they could not afford the time. Perhaps it could be more successfully used in a more specialized course. Mrs. Paul teaches the freshmen Civics course at New Trier High School and expressed interest in using the material and looks forward to experimenting with it. She mentioned that her group liked the assignments in the unit and would like to see other units developed dealing with local politics.

The use of various media could be incorporated with the unit and perhaps simulation games should be developed for citizenship education. A teacher, with the students, might invent a gaming device which would demonstrate some aspect of citizenship, such as group decision-making or, in the political realm, the concept of balance of power.

In the ensuing discussion, Mrs. Morton, a teacher at Evanston Junior High School, made mention of the fact that we as teachers cannot talk about citizenship training for a democratic way of life when we have the students grouped according to ability. A course can be taught at any level. Individualized instruction is our aim. She related that recently research indicates that grouping according to ability is not necessarily effective; it is really a convenience of the teachers and administrators. She feels that it's unrealistic because the world is "heterogeneously grouped." She questioned why we stigmatize the slower student, pointing

out that they are just as valuable as the brighter student. No one could disagree with Mrs.. Morton's position.

Dr. Kenton Stephens of the Oak Park Public Schools hastened to add that the unit as presented is for a wide range of abilities and it is the teacher's task to adapt it to her class. At this point, Mrs. Bernstein said that the unit was designed for a heterogeneous class. The range of assignments and activities is wide. Varying reading levels are taken into consideration. It is the teacher's responsibility to work with students within their choices. Miss Phyllis Wockner suggested that, in the Teacher's Guide, the levels of assignments be identified in order to assist the teacher in guiding the students.

There were so many good ideas resulting from the final discussions, that in summary, Dr. Paul Kleine said it was clear that the teachers' survey should be administered to all the teachers in the school and not just the teachers of social studies. Another point he was very happy to learn was one group's suggestion of comparing the results of the teachers' or students' survey taken in one school, with their results taken in another school, and using that information as a teaching device.

In closing, Dr. Kleine remarked that he looked forward to continued contact with the teachers. The way to have useful materials for students is to get the teachers to do the research, create the ideas, and prepare the materials. This was the purpose of our working weekend at Wingspread.

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